

The University of Chicago

AMERICANISMS IN EARLY AMERICAN
NEWSPAPERS

A PART OF A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED
TO THE FACULTY OF THE DIVISION OF
THE HUMANITIES IN CANDIDACY FOR
THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH LANGUAGE
AND LITERATURE

1933

By

ANNA LUCILE KEATON

Private Edition, Distributed by
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INTRODUCTION

A new field of research in the history of civilization and culture was opened with the conception of a dictionary of the English language to be built upon historical principles, its ideal the presentation of cited evidence for the origin, survival, and growth of each word. As the successive volumes of the great Oxford English Dictionary appeared, it became increasingly clear that by its help in the history of vocabulary, clues to the thought and habits of English-speaking peoples could lead the scholar into hitherto untraveled paths of historical study, with a fresh attack on the problems of contact and borrowing, acceptance of thought and philosophy, the change of the new and strange into the old and familiar, or of the old and familiar into the new and strange, as the case might be. It became clear as well, however, that no one project, no matter how carefully edited, could hope to present adequately the development of the vocabulary in specific periods of the language. Hence, with the completion of the OED, there have been set on foot historical dictionaries of early Scottish (Sir William A. Craigie, editor, University of Chicago), Middle English (Samuel Moore, editor, University of Michigan), early Modern English (Charles Carpenter Fries, editor, University of Michigan), and American English (Sir William A. Craigie, editor, University of Chicago). It is with the research opened by the American Dictionary project that we are concerned.

Interpretation of the mass of material gathered from American sources has taken various forms, depending upon the bent of the scholar who has approached it, or upon the period or

sources to which he has turned his attention. There have been studies, for instance, on the recognition of American English as a distinct and characteristic speech. Such a study, with most valuable reprinting of significant essays, may be found in The Beginnings of American English, by M. M. Mathews (Chicago, 1931); and again in British Recognition of American Speech, by Allen Walker Read (to appear shortly in Dialect Notes). In the former the emphasis is chiefly upon American essays and comments; in the latter, upon British recognition of the growing differences in American English. Actual investigation into the vocabulary gathered by readers for the American Dictionary project has produced in general three types of study: a research in the American vocabulary of a stated field of thought, such as The Names of Officials in the Colonies of New England and New York up to 1700, by Grace Lee Read (University of Chicago dissertation, 1929); an analysis of the vocabulary of an individual writer, either literary, as in Franklin's works, Franklin's Vocabulary, by Lois Margaret MacLaurin (New York, 1928), or informal, as in Sewall's diary and letter-book, The Vocabulary of Samuel Sewall, by Robert David Highfill (University of Chicago dissertation, 1927); and an analysis of the vocabulary of a stated source or series of sources, determined geographically, as in Studies in the Vocabulary of Ohio, 1837 to 1847, by Ralph Bernard Long (University of Chicago dissertation, 1931), or more or less arbitrarily determined by publications, as in Language Studies in the Early Volumes of the "Southern Literary Messenger", by Sydney Mathilde Crawford (University of Chicago dissertation, 1929).

The present research originated in a desire to approach American speech through the newspaper, as an agency which, although it was sophisticated beyond the more naive personal letters and

diaries, was yet nearer to the popular vocabulary than the more formal literary and theological and technical works of the 18th century. The earliest American newspapers began at the very first of the 18th century, a particularly interesting point at which to study the relation of the colonies to their mother country. Within the first quarter of the century all of the original thirteen colonies except Georgia had been established, the oldest of them for a century. How far had the colonists grown away from their original home? Were they out of touch with England? Were any particular fields of thought and activity more American than others? In basing our study on the self-revelation of speech, vocabulary, we are approaching a familiar topic from a fresh point of view.

Our particular field of research has been limited to representative years of three newspapers, the Boston News-Letter (1704,¹ 1708-10, 1714), the American Weekly Mercury (1719-20, 1723), and the New-England Courant (1721-26).²

It is accepted tradition that the Boston News-Letter, established in April, 1704, by John Campbell, was the first newspaper in the colonies. Other publications have been brought to light as earlier news sheets,³ but none can prove a claim to

¹We are indebted to F. W. Collins of New York City for reading for us the News-Letter for 1704.

²Since the purpose of the research was a selective rather than an exhaustive study of vocabulary, choice of years has been determined by files available in Chicago: For Boston News-Letter, files available including 1714; 1708-10, though incomplete, read for central position in chronology; 1714, read complete; 1711-13, scanned rapidly. For American Weekly Mercury, files available 1719-23; 1719-20 and 1723 read, 1721-22 scanned. For New-England Courant, files available 1721-June, 1726; read complete.

³In particular The Present State of New-English Affairs, published by Samuel Green, Jr., in 1689, which contains nothing of local significance, and except two letters from Increase Mather, nothing of American authorship; and Publick Occurrences Both Foreign and Domestick, published for Benjamin Harris (also in

attention in a study of American vocabulary.

It was in the 1690's that John Campbell, a Scotchman, arrived in Boston.¹ In 1702 he was appointed postmaster at Boston under Neale's monopoly. By 1703 he was using his position as a means of sending to his patrons manuscript news letters, franked through the post.² Apparently he was encouraged in his service, for on the 24th of April, 1704, he issued the first number of his Boston News-Letter, properly speaking the first newspaper periodical in the American colonies. In spite of financial difficulties (his advertisements were few, and judging from his frequent appeals his regular subscribers were likewise few), in spite of inability to secure foreign news in the weather-locked winter months, in spite of the great fire in October, 1711, which destroyed his post office and the printing press (Allen's) at which the sheet had been issued that very day,³ in spite even of losing his position as postmaster, in 1719, Campbell managed to keep his News-Letter alive until his retirement in December, 1722. At that time he turned the paper over to his printer, Bartholomew Green, in whose family it remained.⁴

Boston) in 1690, which is undependable for study of American vocabulary since Harris, though he may have caught the atmosphere of the colony in a word or so, had been born and reared an Englishman, having arrived in Boston only four years before, and being destined in only five years more to return to London for the rest of his life.

¹Dictionary of American Biography III (1929), 456.

²Nine such letters to Governor Fitz John Winthrop of Connecticut may be found in Proceedings Massachusetts Historical Society IX (1867), 485-501.

³Reported in the following issue, 9 Oct., 1711.

⁴At the death of Green in 1733, editing was assumed by his son-in-law, John Draper, who was in turn succeeded by his son, Richard Draper, in 1762. At Richard's death in 1774, his widow, Margaret Draper, and his recently made partner, John Boyle, continued, Boyle soon to be succeeded by John Howe. Upon the evacuation of Boston in 1776, the News-Letter ceased publication, never to be resumed.

The Boston News-Letter is, therefore, the first of our newspaper sources for American vocabulary, and John Campbell, a Scottish settler in Boston, its editor for the years consulted. Typical issues may best suggest what one might expect to find in this publication:

1704 (No. 1) 24 Apr.

Extract from London Flying Post, concerning the pretender, who called himself James VIII of Scotland; the Queen's speech to parliament on that topic; local news from Boston; shipping news from New York, Philadelphia, and New London; and one advertisement, his own, about insertion of notices at reasonable rates.--A total of four columns, three of which were foreign news.

1709 5 Jan.

Foreign news from Windsor, Plimouth, Hague, Gurnsey, Bern, London, Leghorne, Helldesheim, Vienna, Frankfort, the Camp at Meldert, the Imperial Camp at Naples, Paris, Berlin, Rome, Bazil; news on shipping and on weather at Boston; three advertisements, a dwelling-house, a negro woman slave, and a servant maid's time for sale.--Total of four columns, three of which were foreign.

1714 27 Dec.

Foreign news from Windsor, Paris, Baden, Hague; local news, deaths, shipping, governor's trip, posts in; advertisements two, tenement to let, and plea for payment for paper.--Total of four columns, three and one half of which were foreign.

Since the foreign news which made up so considerable a part of the News-Letter was either reprinted from London and other news sheets, or quoted from letters whose writers cannot be vouched for as American, our study of American vocabulary is necessarily limited to the relatively small proportion of domestic news, usually to be found at the end of each issue. Another factor which we must remember is that the editor was of Scottish birth and training, although he had arrived in the colonies several years before, and was to live there until his death in 1728. James Franklin in 1722 pointed out his "endless Barbarisms and Scotisms, which neither your self nor any Mortal else can

understand";¹ and taunted him with, "It were reasonable to suppose, that after so many Years carrying on your Linsey-Woolsey Thread of Occurrences, you should be able to write either good English, or good Scotch."² Allowing a due discount for Franklin's joy in tormenting Campbell, we need yet to watch against a possible over-emphasis of Scottish form or vocabulary on the unsupported evidence of the News-Letter.

On December 21, 1719, appeared the first issue of the Boston Gazette, edited (as might be expected) by William Brooker, who had just succeeded Campbell as postmaster. Only a few weeks after the establishment of the Gazette, Brooker was displaced by Philip Musgrave as postmaster;³ almost immediately (in No. 41) the Gazette bore a new imprint: "Boston Printed by S. Kneeland, for Philip Musgrave, Post Master, at his Office in Corn-Hill...." Not only had Musgrave assumed editorship of the Gazette, but he had taken the printing from Brooker's printer, James Franklin. The change was the immediate cause of Franklin's new venture and Boston's third newspaper, the New-England Courant, in 1721. The Boston Gazette, in the meantime, was throughout edited by the same conservative method as the Boston News-Letter, with the same over-balance of foreign news and monotony in local items. The method, in fact, was so near that of the older Boston publication that its absence from Chicago libraries determined us against the Gazette as a source for vocabulary.

¹1722 New-England Courant 29 Oct. 1/2.

²Ibid.

³Actually, when Campbell was removed from office in 1718, the Post Master General in England named Musgrave to succeed him; the appointment, however, was assigned to Andrew Hamilton, Deputy Post Master General, for North America, who placed William Brooker in office. Collections Massachusetts Historical Society, 3 ser., VII (Boston, 1838), 84. Brooker remained in office a little over a year.

The Tuesday following the Monday on which the Boston Gazette first came out, Andrew Bradford issued in Philadelphia the American Weekly Mercury, third newspaper in America, December 22, 1719. Bradford was the son of William Bradford, who had brought his printing press to Philadelphia in 1685, the first press in the middle colonies. In Andrew's youth his father was printing in New York, and most of his education the boy received in the shop. We have in him, therefore, the first editor American born and American trained. His newspaper interests us because of its emphasis upon colonial news. Almost half of every issue is devoted to the colonies, and in one interesting number (17 March, 1720) there is less than one page of foreign news in four pages of print. In later issues even the foreign news shows evidence of editing by Bradford for the convenience of his readers, in explanations after European cities named in the date-lines: "Vienna, (the capital of Germany) June 9," "Hanover, (a strong City in Germany) June 18," "Cologne, (a City in Germany) June 18," "Arnheim, (in the Low Countries)," etc.¹ There is no evidence that such editing was done in the articles; we dare not use them as source for our studies. In the colonial news and local comments, however, there was developing a wider range of interest, and the paper is often good reading even two centuries later. In the issue for 17 March, 1720 (cited above), for instance, there is real spirit in the article reporting the attack on a ship by pirates, and the subsequent adventures of eight of them who, having been taken on board as "passengers" to a desired destination, were finally suspected in a port of call and executed after a quick trial. The fall of South Sea stock late in 1720 gave rise to a neat little

¹1723 American Weekly Mercury 29 Aug. 1.

quip suggestive of a later "columnist" style:

The prodigious Fall of South Sea Stock has ruined Thousands: several Gentlemen who kept their Coaches before they dipt into South Sea, are now forced to walk on Foot. By the same Turn of Fortunes Wheel, Footmen and Cook Maids loll in their gilded Chariots and smile at the Fate of their quondam Masters.¹

A few weeks later a bit of humorous verse on the same topic appeared, the first of its kind in American newspapers.² Not until after the establishment of Franklin's Courant did Bradford begin to insert contributed letters on topics of miscellaneous interest. In response to a series of letters by "Cato," quoted from the London Journal in 1722, came the first such contribution,³ to be followed by occasional others. The American Weekly Mercury was never the public forum that the Courant wished to be, however; its aim was primarily that of purveying news rather than propagating ideas.⁴

The New-England Courant has proved the best source for study of Americanisms because from its very first issue its purpose was not the reprinting of foreign news (although it did not

¹1721 American Weekly Mercury 3 Jan. 2/2.

²1721 ibid. 24 Jan. 2/2.

³1722 ibid. 31 May 1/1-2/1.

⁴There was reason enough for the Mercury's conservatism, in the strictness of supervision by the Provincial Council of Pennsylvania. In his issue for 2 Jan., 1721, Bradford had dared express a hope that the General Assembly might find "some effectual remedy to revive the dying credit of this province." He was immediately called before the Council because the paragraph seemed "to have been intended as a Reflection upon the Credit of this Province" (Minutes Prov. Council III, 43), and was forced to plead that it had been inserted without his knowledge by his journeyman (ibid., 45). "Whereupon the Governour told him, That He must not for the future presume to publish any thing relating to or concerning the Affairs of this Government, or the Government of any other of his Majestys Colonies, without the permission of the Governour or Secretary of this province...." (ibid.). Later he was even sent to prison, but his popularity was unharmed and his paper uninterrupted.

neglect that phase of interest), but rather the expression of opinions on current local problems. When Philip Musgrave took the printing of the Boston Gazette from the young Franklin, he truly did neither himself nor the authorities of the province any good. James Franklin may never have won the fame that his younger brother Benjamin was to win, but like Benjamin's, his was an alert and independent mind, and lack of business inspired him to make business for himself. Already there were in Boston two papers for distributing more or less official news, 'Published by Authority'; he could not rival them in their own field. Instead, he took advantage of the unsettled political conditions which had somewhat freed the press,¹ and began in August, 1721, his New-England Courant, a combination of newspaper and essay-periodical, with contributions on whatever was most heatedly discussed in town. Far from being 'Published by Authority,' the Courant was a constant source of annoyance to the authorities, and it is by no means surprising that the young publisher was in trouble less than a year after he established his paper. The issue of 11 June, 1722, in discussing depredations by Lowe, the famous pirate, slyly implied that the government of Rhode Island was more active in furnishing protection for shipping than was that of Massachusetts:

¹'Power of the press' had been given to all provincial governors from 1686 (Andros in New England) until forty years later, in spite of the fact that in England itself Parliament had voted no licensing act from 1695 onward. That the power was used in 1690 may be noted in the case of Harris's Publick Occurrences, which was stopped by government order. The administration of Governor Dudley in Massachusetts (1702-16) brought bitter partisanship, however, and through opposition of the Assembly, the governor practically lost his power of censorship. Shute, Dudley's successor, entered his administration with determination to assert his power of the press. Opposition to him by the hostile Assembly reduced his influence in spite of his efforts, until in 1719-20 printer Boone dared print a disputed section of the House Journal on the order of the House, contrary to the express order of the governor. The attorney-general and the council appear to have remained neutral. (See summary of this struggle from 1686 onward, in C. A. Duniway,

/In Rhode Island/ the Drums were order'd immediately to be beat about Town for Volunteers to go in quest of the Pirates; and by 3 of the Clock the same day, there were two large Sloops under Sail, Equipt and Man'd;....We are advis'd from Boston, that the Government of the Massachusetts are fitting out a Ship to go after the Pirates, to be commanded by Capt. Peter Papillion, and 'tis thought he will sail sometime this Month, if Wind and Weather permit.¹

Indirect though the criticism was, the General Court resented it, and both houses passed a resolution to commit James Franklin to jail "for the Gross affront offered to this Government,....there to remain during this Session."² Although confinement to prison made Franklin ill within a week, and permission was granted him to range the jail yard,³ he was not released until the end of full four weeks, when the General Court adjourned.⁴ In the meantime, the Courant had been carried on in the same lively fashion by Benjamin, the apprentice; and James, undaunted by governmental disapproval, celebrated his release from prison with a page of self-defense, and a column of "Collections" from "a Book intituled, Fables Moral and Political, with large Explications, and The London Journal," which had much to say on oppression under a show of justice.⁵ The following issue contained Benjamin's ninth Dogood letter, on the State Hypocrite;⁶ the next following, a long citation

Development of Freedom of Press in Massachusetts (New York, 1906), pp. 64 ff.) It was under these conditions that the Courant began appearing in 1721.

¹1722 New-England Courant 11 June 2/2.

²General Court Records XI, 319-20. Cf. Duniway, op. cit., p. 163.

³General Court Records XI, 334. Cf. Duniway, op. cit., p. 99.

⁴Duniway calls attention to the fact that this was an assertion of legislative 'privilege,' exemption from public criticism; an example also of imprisonment on legislative order, confinement terminating at the end of the session (Duniway, op. cit., p. 100 note).

⁵1722 New-England Courant 16 July 1, and 2/1-2.

⁶1722 ibid. 23 July 1/1-2.

from the Magna Charta on the rights and liberties of Englishmen.¹ The Courant proceeded on its irritating way without further official protest for a few months more; then there occurred the one event which could bring the Council and the Assembly into effective agreement. The governor sailed for England, leaving in charge Lieutenant-Governor Dummer, who had stirred up no personal animosity. The bone of contention in the person of Governor Shute being gone, Franklin most unwisely proceeded in his very next issue to offend both parties: The Assembly and other prominent church people he offended with a daring communication on religious hypocrites:

It is far worse dealing with religious Hypocrites, than with the most arrant Knave in the World; and if a Man is nick'd by a notorious Rogue, it does not vex him half so much as to be cheated under pretence of Religion.

For my own part, whenever I find a man full of religious Cant and Pallaver, I presently suspect him to be a Knave: Religion, is indeed the principal Thing; but too much of it, is worse than none at all. Moral Honesty, tho' it will not of it self carry a Man to Heaven, yet, I am sure there is no going thither without it: And however such men, of whom I have been speaking may palliate their wickedness, they will find, that Publicans & Harlots will enter into the Kingdom of Heaven before themselves.

But, are there such Men as these in THEE O New-England! Heaven forbid there should be any: But alas! It is to be feared the Number is not small. The whole Country suffers for the Villainies of a few such Wolves in Sheeps Cloathing, and we are all represented as a pack of Knaves and Hypocrites, for their Sakes.²

The same party he offended with another letter which rebuked the colony for driving away a spirited governor with their stupid contentions. On the other hand, the Council and the friends of the governor were offended by a third letter which exactly opposed the preceding one, calling attention to the "unprecedented and extraordinary Manner of Governour Shute's absenting himself from

¹1722 New-England Courant 30 July 1/1-2/2.

²1723 ibid. 14 Jan. 1/2-2/1.

this Government," and warning the colonists lest he try to harm them with false charges in England.¹ A joint committee of seven, three from the Council (including Samuel Sewall) and four from the House, recommended one day after the offending issue that Franklin be forbidden to publish any paper or pamphlet without supervision by the Secretary of the province, and that he be put under bond for good behavior for twelve months time.² Franklin's response was to issue the Courant on its regular publication day the next week, not only without supervision but with added offense in quoting from Watts's Psalm Book psalms LVI and LVIII, David's prayers for help against those who misinterpreted and oppressed him, set in the paper only a few paragraphs from a verbatim report of the proceedings of the Council and the Assembly against him, though without comment.³ The authorities moved immediately, issuing an order for Franklin's arrest on the charge of contempt.⁴ The warrant for some reason was delayed until the following week, and the Courant appeared regularly again, this time with a letter from a 'friend,' pointing out how Franklin could avoid offending his pious readers, even though his offense heretofore had been chiefly in having a bad name.⁵ But though the Courant had come out on time, James Franklin was not at home when the undersheriff arrived that day, nor could he be found in the neighborhood.⁶ February 4th, the next publication day, saw the third Courant

¹1723 New-England Courant 14 Jan. 2/1-2.

²General Court Records XI, 493 (15 Jan., 1723). Cf. Duniway, op. cit., p. 164.

³1723 New-England Courant 21 Jan. Sewall's Diary for the 21st of January records, "The Courant comes out very impudently." III, 319, in Massachusetts Historical Society Collections, ser. 5, VII (1878).

⁴Council Records VII, 452-3 (24 January). Cf. Duniway, op. cit., pp. 164-5.

⁵1723 New-England Courant 28 Jan. 1/1-2/1.

⁶Suffolk Court Files, No. 16480 (warrant, with undersheriff's notation at the foot), quoted in Duniway, op. cit., p. 165.

after the joint action of Council and Assembly, with this time a communication about convicting a man under a law which did not exist, and a letter addressed to Judge Sewall (not named) specifically about Franklin (openly named), urging the same argument.¹ The sheer impertinence of the final sentence,

I would also humbly remind your Honour, that you were formerly led into an Error, which you afterwards Publickly and Solemnly (and I doubt not, Sincerely) Confess'd and repented of; and Sir, ought not this to make you the more Cautious & Circumspect in your Actions which relate to the publick all your Days?²

its gratuitous insult of a man so prominent and well-meaning as the Judge, must either have roused the town to action or have frightened Franklin with his own boldness. At any rate, the next Courant bore the name of Benjamin Franklin as its editor, and began with Benjamin's famous introduction of Old Janus the Couranteer, after a brief statement of James's withdrawal from the editorship because of "so many Inconveniencies [which] would arise by his carrying the Manuscripts and publick News to be supervis'd by the Secretary, as to render his carrying it on unprofitable."³ Benjamin's Courant it remained to the end of its existence, though Benjamin himself, growing tired of the restrictions of apprenticeship, ran away from Boston the following September (1723) and never returned. Put under bond for the unlicensed publication of the 21st of January,⁴ James was never indicted for the offence,⁵ nor was his obvious subterfuge to escape the Secretary's supervision ever checked. There was no

¹1723 New-England Courant 4 Feb. 1/1-2/1.

²1723 ibid., 1/2-2/1.

³1723 ibid., 11 Feb. 1/1.

⁴Records General Sessions of Peace, 1719-25, 186. Cf. Duniway, op. cit., p. 165.

⁵Order for release from bond, failing of indictment, Records Superior Court of Judicature, 1721-25, 119. Cf. Duniway, op. cit., pp. 165-6.

further attempt to enforce censorship of the press in Massachusetts.¹

After a time, however, perhaps because the contributors lost interest, perhaps because of other conditions, the breezy Courant lost its vigor, its controversial essays growing fewer and its reprints from London and elsewhere growing more numerous.² Some time near the end of 1726 or early in 1727 it came to its death.³

The particular virtue of the New-England Courant for the student of vocabulary arises from the very spirit which made it a problem for the colonial authorities. Its devotion to local issues and its entrance into every controversy of note in Boston and vicinity give us an excellent opportunity to collect a vocabulary touching all sorts of activity, a vocabulary particularly American since the controversial essay naturally tends toward informality and colloquial fluency rather than toward the quieter literary style of an Addison. There are even some few attempts

¹Duniway, op. cit., p. 103.

²Note the serial reprint of "The Life of Jonathan Wild," by "H.D." (Defoe?), from 9 October to 25 December, 1725. W. G. Bleyer (Main Currents in the History of American Journalism (Boston, 1927), p. 23 note) believed Defoe's Religious Courtship to have been the earliest serial in an American newspaper (Pennsylvania Gazette, 1729); but James Franklin had preceded Keimer of the Gazette in the idea, by four years.

³Latest file extant, 25 June, 1726. Only indirect evidence may be found for date of last issue: The News-Letter in 1727 (9 March) spoke of the Courant as of the past; and the 1728 New England Journal (5 August) cited a poem "On the Foregoing," the "Foregoing" having been "An Elegy on the long expected Death of Old Janus," which had been written earlier, probably in 1727, immediately after the Courant's demise. Both verses were reprinted in A Collection of Poems by Several Hands (Boston, 1744). James Franklin's next newspaper venture, the Rhode-Island Gazette, did not appear until 1732.

at dialect in humorous contributions here and there. It will be noticed, therefore, that in the glossary of Americanisms the New-England Courant is most frequently cited.

With the limitation of sources to the two newspapers from Boston and one from Philadelphia, it has of course been determined that our material should be most complete for Boston and vicinity (from the Boston newspapers) and Philadelphia and vicinity (from the Mercury). There is news rather often from New York, New Hampshire, Connecticut, and Rhode Island, and occasionally from the Carolinas and Virginia.¹ In most instances no indication of difference in locality has been indicated, credit being given only to the newspaper in which the citation occurred.

The purpose of the study has not been exhaustive. It has been rather to select those words which by their concrete or significant content promised either linguistic or historical usefulness. In particular, we have sought to include all terms which we have recognized as Americanisms, and all others which revealed the life and activities of the colonists. By means of classifying the terms thus recorded, it has been possible to approach the many and varied interests of colonial life through an analysis of their vocabulary.

In our attempts to identify Americanisms we have used as our chief guide the Oxford English Dictionary, accepting in general

¹The second quarter of the century, which we have touched only in so far as the Courant's last issues extend into it, offers particular opportunity for study of New York and the southern vocabulary, since in that period several New York newspapers were established, and the first papers of Maryland and of Virginia as well. In files available in the University of Chicago and the Newberry libraries alone, the student has access to representative years of four New York papers before 1750, the Gazette, the Weekly Journal, the Evening Post, and the Weekly Post; and two southern journals, the Maryland Gazette and the Virginia Gazette (Williamsburg).

its evidence for the existence or absence of a given word in English usage. We have found, however, that the OED cannot be depended upon explicitly for each word discussed. In addition to some 92 terms which fill gaps of a century or more in OED evidence, we have discovered 370 others which are notably earlier or later than OED evidence, or are omitted entirely from the OED, and yet have no demonstrable claim to Americanism. In so far as these terms are concerned, our study may be considered an amplification of English evidence in the OED.

We have accepted as American only those terms which are so recognized by the OED, or by An American Glossary, by R. H. Thornton (Philadelphia and London, 1912);¹ or for which, in the absence of recognition by either, we have been able to collect cumulative proof in favor of American and against English status. Such proof has been based upon the weight of evidence gathered from American sources, chiefly available by means of the alphabetized slips collected and filed for editing in the American Dictionary project; or upon the logic of historical conditions which must have favored the special colonial development of terms for which English evidence is lacking in the OED.

In the course of our study we have investigated from 1800 to 2000 terms which offered promise of significance in the history of colonial speech. As might well be expected, the overwhelming bulk of the terms considered proved to be exactly parallel with English speech of the 18th century, although in over 400 instances (see above) evidence was inadequately provided by the OED. Indeed, the colonists were not only English, but quite up-to-date speakers

¹Other earlier glossaries of Americanisms have been infrequently of service, since Thornton, being later, consulted and made use of their material.

of English. The controversy as to inoculation for controlling smallpox had reached England only with the arrival of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu from her stay in Turkey (1718);¹ the vocabulary built about it according to OED evidence is to be dated from that decade onward. Yet in Boston, only three years later, when a smallpox epidemic was raging there, inoculation was so bitterly disputed that it was the main topic of the lively New-England Courant from its first issue in the summer of 1721 until early spring, 1722, when the epidemic died out of its own accord. In the series of contributions to the Courant over this period, we find the whole vocabulary of inoculation just as it was to be found in England; inoculate, inoculation, inoculator, etc. were apparently the property of every colonial speaker (see below, Miscellaneous Terms). Likewise colonial slang was English slang, and up-to-date, as for example bamboosle, which had become popular in England only with the new century.

Yet it is a perfectly obvious truth that in their thinking and activities the colonies were drawing apart from the old country, as colonies must needs draw apart. England's problems of piracy and privateering were not so immediate or acute as those of the colonies; England was undisturbed by slave insurrections; England was not torn by the dispute about singing by rule as against singing by rote (with the deacon to line out the psalms),² or by the desertion of prominent church leaders from the dissenting ranks to the Church of England;³ England, with her conservative Bank of England, was not embarking in perilous experiments with paper

¹Dictionary of National Biography XXXVIII (London, 1894), 260.

² See below, under Church Terms.

³In September, 1722; cf. 1722 New-England Courant 29 Oct.

money, and did not have the problems of land banks and merchants' tickets in providing an adequate medium of exchange.¹ So the colonials, decades before they considered the idea of political independence,² revealed a distinct divergence of thought and expression. That there should have been as many as 220 Americanisms in a colonial vocabulary of 1800 to 2000 terms gathered from newspapers of the early 18th century is worthy of serious consideration.

Many of our Americanisms are of course merely characteristic colonial recombinations of familiar English terms, to meet senses not needed or for some unknown reason not developed in England. Such words are anniversary meeting, bill of public credit, deputy governor, general court, etc. Still others (a smaller group) show that the colonists retained terms which had since their migration to the colonies been lost in England: advocate-general, candle-lighting, Carolina hat, covenant-servant, etc. Some we have called American because although they were known in English speech, they never attained the popularity there which they gained and held here: neck (of land), parcel (various meanings), shingle, etc. The remainder of the group represent terms which originated in the colonial English, occasionally through place names (Marylander, Rhodian, etc.); more frequently through borrowings from other languages with which English came in contact in the new country: French (bateau, vendue, etc.), Spanish (canoe, piragua), Dutch (cripple, pea-jacket, sleigh), Indian (moose, nocake, papoose); and finally through sources which we have not been able to identify (cherriderry, crocus).

¹See below, under Financial Terms.

²For a brief discussion of political thought in the early colonies, cf. S. G. Fisher, True History of the American Revolution (Philadelphia and London, 1902), Chapter I.

It is among the terms having to do with education and general culture that we find in our newspapers the least indication of independence from England.¹ In this field of thought there were almost no terms of historical or logical significance which were not English. Among purely linguistic peculiarities, we find not one characteristic of the colonies; among the more or less consciously colorful and slangy terms, only gump-headed and trampoose of colonial origin, and considerable (meaning 'much of') and sitting up transferred in meaning; among agencies for the spread of culture, the schools, only the spinning-school, an indication of the paternalistic local governments; among terms of newspapers and other publications, not one Americanism.

Colonial administration, however, produced a notable group of terms peculiar to the colonies. In government, for instance, largely because of the great emphasis given in New England to the town as a unit and the paternalistic tendency noted above, which developed beside a democratic sense of responsibility in citizenship, we find a long list of American terms: town-company, town-congregation, town-dock, town-library, town-meeting, etc., and bread-weigher, fire-warden, etc. The democratic system produced also House of representatives, selectman, etc. The original commercial purpose of the colonial charters gave to the colonies a number of titles for legislative and judicial bodies, transferred from their commercial to a governmental and political sense: general court, great and general court, great and general court or assembly; and of officers, assistant, deputy governor. Need for extended duties in a new environment produced an American sense

¹Perhaps we should emphasize once more our limitation of sources to Boston and Philadelphia newspapers within set limits of time. There can be no doubt that other and earlier (or later) examples of American vocabulary can be observed in other sources, and that such other sources, different in substance, style, and locality, will show varying proportions of Americanisms.

for established English offices, constable, overseer of the poor, sheriff, tithingman. Inherited church terms were in some instances transferred to governmental use, perhaps because of the close association of church and state in New England, general assembly, moderator. Other terms of miscellaneous origin bring up the total of American governmental terms to forty, a rather large proportion in relation to the number of terms considered, especially significant in revealing a characteristic and distinct sense of self-management and self-direction.

The military, by contrast, remained chiefly English, new terms being wholly determined by the necessity of defense against the Indians: hence, the town-company, town-regiment, clerk of the train-band, and the retention of train, training, training day after they had been lost in England; beat (noun), scout (company of scouts); and places of defense, garrison-house, block-house. It can readily be observed that no notion of a standing army had seized the colonial mind, and that here, in the militia, the democratic ideal was once more present. All military equipment depended still on England.

The third institution of administration, the church, was English in vocabulary, except for some few terms which reveal either minor variations in procedure or local disputes which occupied the colonists but did not involve England. Developed because of colonial procedure were such terms as election sermon, delivered on the annual election day, general convention of ministers, Thursday lecture, weekly lecture; developed in the course of a dispute on church singing, prick'd tune, singing-lecture, irregular singing, regular singing, etc. And indicative of the all-permeating democracy of the colonies, town-congregation, messenger, and teacher (for discussion of the duties of the two

latter, see below, Church Terms). In general, there was no great indication of breaking away from the corresponding church organization and thought in the old country.

Had it not been for the ever-present difficulties of providing an adequate supply of money as a medium of exchange, there would have been a similar lack of Americanisms in the terms of finance, commerce, and industry. Terms dealing with the problems of finance were by far the most productive of new vocabulary, both in relation to Indians (wampum, wampumpeag) and the white man's development of the land (land company, society hill, society land); and in relation to the great innovation in finance for which the colonies can claim initial experimentation, the emission of paper money by the government (bill of public credit, paper bill, paper currency, paper money, parchment money, province bill, etc.). Not only were the Americans plunging into a difficult realm of experiment and practice in finance, but they were opening a path of independent thought which brought one of the earliest conflicts between colonial and English agencies of government, with its climax in the notorious land bank dispute of the 40's and 50's.¹

All other terms having to do with industry and commerce were so predominantly English as to make it possible for us to say definitely that the colonies were at this period most dependent on the old country for their standards (see the unanimity of terms of weight and measure),² their methods, and their general trading terminology. The terms of trading and manufacture included dram-shop, ginger-mill, sledding (note again the use of sled), time

¹See below, under Financial Terms.

²A single Americanism occurs among terms of measure, viz. sled-load, indicating the effect of weather conditions upon necessary vocabulary.

(as a commodity to be sold, the result of the colonial system of indentured service), vendue (influence of French), and cattle-mill (retention from kettle-mill?). Of the 150 or more occupations collected (exclusive of nautical trades, considered under nautical terms), only seven were probably American in origin (bound servant, cattle-hunter, indentured servant, Indian trader, inland trader, peach-merchant, vendue-master), four were American shifts in meaning (coal-merchant, 'retailer,' merchant, 'retailer,' planter, servant, 'slave'), and one was a late retention (covenant-servant). Among nautical terms, which our seaport newspapers especially enabled us to investigate, some 370 words included only nineteen Americanisms, most of which were shore terms or names of small boats, the local rather than the general terms of the sea (bateau, cance, dory, lumber-wharf, mate-boat, piragua, plank, schooner, station-ship, tom-cod (a fish), town-dock, Trinidado-man, Virginia-man, whale-boat, whaleman, below, adv., gondola, killick, mudfish). Nor were the terms of merchandise with which the traders dealt a more plentiful source of Americanisms, except in a few terms of colonial food (cassadar bread, Indian pudding, Jamaica sugar, molasses, nocake, Philadelphia town bolted flour) and other scattered terms having chiefly to do with peculiarly colonial industries, such as bay-wax, beaver-shot, lumber, peltry, etc. It is worthy of note that among close to a hundred names of stuffs, materials, and skins used for clothes, only two may be called American (cherriderry, crocus).¹

It was in his own local surroundings that the colonist

¹We dare not assume, of course, that stuffs with English names were necessarily made in England. On the contrary, the colonies were causing England much concern with their household manufacture of cotton, woollen, and linen stuffs in this period, thus reducing the colonial demand for English manufactures. Cf. Rolla Milton Tryon, Household Manufactures in the United States, 1640-1860 (Chicago, 1917), pp. 75ff.

had developed most of his new terms in the fields of administrative and commercial activity; and so we are not surprised to find that it was in his own homestead, concerning the very land in which he was a pioneer, that his speech had become most colonial and least English. Here was the opposite pole from the education and culture in which he was almost as English as England; here was none of the breadth of contact which is intrinsic in commerce; here were emphasized the small community and the new land, the strange and difficult environment to which he had to adjust himself.

We must not be surprised, of course, to find that in two fields of daily life the colonial had been largely protected from the development of a distinctive vocabulary. As the materials of which he made his clothes were English in name, so were the garments he wore, for no true colonial can ignore the fads of fashion at home. Among his terms of wearing apparel only those were American which indicated some specific feature of his environment, such as fall shoes, suitable for fall wear (?), pea-jacket (because of the great usefulness of the heavy garment which the Dutch had so named), snow-shoe; or can be as readily explained by logical colonial conditions, as Carolina hat, which merely indicated the retention of a style which had gone out of fashion in England. Like the usual colonial, he had also brought with him from home his vocabulary of household equipment and furniture, much as he did his fashions of dress. Indeed, we find in our newspapers not one household word which was not English, except the dialect adjective frougny (frowey), which was retained at least into the 19th century in a status slightly higher than dialect but still local. By contrast, however, the houses and farms and the great strange land the colonists had to make their own were here, indigenous, and hence prone to receive American

titles.

It is fascinating to mark out the influences which gave the 18th century colonist his new terms of buildings and houses: He had met the Indian, hence the wigwam; and having had to fight to hold his own place in the country, he had developed the block-house, the garrison-house, and the powder house. The exigencies of the climate and the need of economizing effort in building produced respectively the low room in his home (see discussion as to the exact meaning, below, under Buildings and Houses), and the double house or double dwelling house. The great plantations which he undertook to cultivate gave him plantation-house; his 'city' charter of New York and other 'cities' gave him city hall; and, as a last most humanizing hint of his daily perplexities, the problem of woman's position in the church gave him women's gallery.

His new terms in agriculture reveal likewise peculiarly colonial problems which he had to solve. Rare-ripe (for the English rathe-ripe) would seem to be a mere change in pronunciation; creature (domestic animal) was an acceptance of the fairly prevalent English dialect sense (cf. EDD, s.v.); and tackle, tackling (harness, harnessing) no doubt developed because of colonial separation from English farms. Screwed hay, unrecorded in the OED, we might take to indicate the greater need for pressing hay into convenient bundles which could be transported and stored for the hard winters. Stump-yard and turnip yard suggest an emphasis on the enclosure and protection of developed land, just as plantation in its new sense of estate or farm suggests the need of actually cultivating the land. Blotted brand, a brand deliberately disfigured or changed, touches upon the new problems of holding one's property against theft. Finally, such simple terms as

English bean and Indian corn exhibit specification of the new as against the old vegetables and grains; and husking tells us of the gay community gatherings to prepare the ears of Indian corn for their winter storage.

The land itself, however, its natural features, the building of it into homes and towns, developing it into a habitable place, all these gave to the colonial his most significant Americanisms. Even though the newspapers do not prove as prolific a source for land terms as diaries and town records which have been read for the American Dictionary project, since both Boston and Philadelphia were primarily commercial and seaport towns, yet from random references in news paragraphs and particularly from advertisements of land for sale, we have been able to gather a vocabulary of some fifty-six terms, nineteen of which, or thirty-three per cent, were Americanisms. In the barren, the cripple, the fresh, the swamp, cedar swamp, and meadow swamp, we observe natural features peculiar to the new continent and unprovided for in the English vocabulary. These were words which the colonist could claim as his own, terms which his English relatives at home could not understand without careful definition. Likewise neck (of land) and upland, because of their importance in describing the formations of the land, became so popular here as to be characteristic of the colonies, though known in the old country; while creek and pond shifted to new meanings. The need of protecting the extremities of settlement from the savages, as England had once had to protect her boundaries from hostile neighbors, gave to the English frontier a new colonial sense, the outermost edges of advancing civilization; and so also frontier town, a new combination, indicating a town at the most advanced point of settlement. With the development of the land there came

the country road, named apparently with the notion of possession and upkeep by the 'country' or government, or perhaps the notion of uniting the country with the town. One of the best known of Americanisms is to be found among land terms, the American lot, developed in sense from the New England lot which gave choice of ownership in the original distribution of property, to a name for the plot of land itself; and hence ultimately to a unit of city or town property. The word was a prolific source of combination from the first; in the newspapers used in this study four such combinations occur, corner-lot, house and lot, house-lot, water-lot.

Only one field of thought can surpass land terms in percentage of Americanisms, that which has to do with the life of the Indians. Because the newspapers of Boston and Philadelphia, as with land terms, did not have a primary interest in the Indians (especially since the Indians were no longer of major importance in those two centers of English civilization in the colonies), we have been able to collect only a brief list of twenty-three terms. Of the twenty-three, however, sixteen were Americanisms, nine of them direct borrowing from the Indians themselves (moose, nocake, papoose, sachem, sagamore, squaw, wampum, wampumpeag, wigwam).

An attempt to draw too definite conclusions as to the independence of the early 18th century colonies from England in the fields of life thus studied would necessarily be misleading. A mere study of vocabulary cannot be taken as conclusive evidence, nor can the evidence from any one type of source be taken as conclusive. Particularly it must be remembered that the early newspapers were printed in the busiest commercial centers, the especial strongholds of merchants and scholars and wanderers (thus in most frequent contact with England); and in the fields of colonial

thought which belong to the inland and the frontier rather than to the coast, such as are represented by land terms and Indian terms, newspaper evidence is notably weak. Yet in a vocabulary of significant terms gathered from such sources, more than one in ten proved to be American, 220 Americanisms in a total of less than 2000 terms. The colonists were still so closely bound to England in culture, in military and church affairs, and in considerations of costume and home management, as to have created new terms only for the most obvious necessities of a new environment; but in matters of local concern, they were beginning to develop a few terms of their own in commerce and transportation, and wherever they were isolated in their own small communities, faced by their own personal problems in conquering this new land, wherever they had to make their way as colonists in situations England did not know, they were departing most distinctly from the old to a new colonial identity. In government, finance, houses and buildings, farming, land description and development, and Indian terms, the proportion of American vocabulary had become sufficiently high to merit consideration among students interested in the birth of an independent America.

ILLUSTRATIVE ANALYSES OF VOCABULARY

In order to make clear the method which has been used in this study we are appending the analyses of three special vocabularies: the church vocabulary, from the section dealing with the terms of administration; the vocabulary of finance, from that of commerce and industry; and the vocabulary of houses and buildings, from that of daily life. The special material for these and other vocabularies investigated, which will be utilized in editing the new American Dictionary, is in the meantime available in glossary form in the typewritten copy of this dissertation in the University of Chicago Libraries.

CHURCH TERMS

Superficial speculation might lead one to expect a considerable independence of thought and hence of vocabulary in the colonial American church, since the very establishment of the settlements, particularly of New England, had been due to a desire for religious freedom. More careful examination of causes and effects will lead us to expect more what we do find, a vocabulary almost wholly parallel with that of the respective denominations in England. The demand for freedom to worship had been made after all by religious groups already established and organized, and any new elements in the speech of the colonists were due not to their separation, but to the new environment they met here, and the new needs of church management that consequently arose.

The names of denominations and sects which the colonists discussed were largely the same that their brothers at home were discussing: conformist (and nonconformist), conventieler, dissenter (with the participial adjective dissenting), free-thinker, independent, papist (and popery), prelatist, presbyterian (and presbytery), puritan, quaker (most frequently in phrase people called quakers; our citations include also quakerism), Roman catholic, and schismatic. Water-Baptist (Philadelphia, 1723) the OED happens not to mention, though water-baptism was in use from the 17th century; it was probably not an Americanism. Episcopalian, a member of the Anglican church, we find fifteen years earlier than the earliest OED reference (1738; 1723); even earlier, Increase Mather had used the term in 1690.¹ It is just

¹Andros Tracts II (Boston, 1869), 37.

possible that the determined opposition of the congregational New England to the episcopal government of the Church of England may have caused the origin of such a description for an Anglican here earlier than in England itself, but we cannot prove such an assumption. The more common term for him was churchman (or church-woman); and although the OED does not recognize it, we suspect that the ellipsis of church for Established Church, or Church of England, was equally common, not at all a distinctive Americanism. Independency, that is, congregationalism, according to the OED was not favored in New England use. We can add only that we do find it in use in Boston in 1722; the single example alone can not prove or disprove the OED assumption, but it stands as evidence to be supported or not by other examples through the period. Muggletonianism, to designate the sect founded by Lodowicke Muggleton in 1651, was in use at least by 1724, according to our newspaper example; the OED cites it only for 1881 (after the sect was almost dead), though it records Muggletonian, a member of the sect, from the 17th century. Probabilities are against original American coinage of so obvious a derivative.

Like the names of sects, the points of religious doctrine (of which we have only a few examples) afford us no clean-cut Americanism. The Quaker doctrines of passive obedience and non-resistance we find, but they were both phrases that the Quakers in England were using in their discussions also. Nor are our citations for Light of Nature and Light of Revelation (1722, 1723) remarkable, though the OED records the former only into the 17th century, and the latter not at all: few points of religious speculation aroused more dispute in early 18th century England than the relative authenticity of the two sources of religious knowledge and experience, emphasis on the Light of Nature (also

called Light of Reason) being the distinguishing mark of the deist, and on the Light of Revelation the mark of the more enthusiastic sects, including the nonconformists of varying branches, as well as the Quakers and later the Methodists.

The organization and government of the New England churches¹ produced a few terms peculiar to the colonies, though not very many. The church body was called church and participation in its activities, communion, as in England; and the body of worshipers accustomed to meet together were called the congregation (important in England as in the colonies as the unit of congregationalism). Congregation developed one new sense in New England, however, because of the intimate relation between the town unit and the church unit. Hence we find town-congregation (Boston, 1724), meaning not those who worship together so much as those who live in the town ("....the Majority of each Town-Congregation should have the Choice of their own Teachers....";² -- the problem being that of a settlement predominantly Quaker required to pay rates to maintain a presbyterian preacher in their town, although they did not belong to a presbyterian congregation, in the English sense of the word). The use of brotherhood to indicate the local congregation as a unit (Boston, 1723) is not cited by the OED, though the term was of long standing to indicate the membership of various fraternities and guilds, religious and commercial, and of course the phrases brotherhood of the saints and the like were common throughout the period. In view of the peculiarly close communion of the New England congregations, it is entirely possible that the transfer of

¹Our only non-congregational term of church government is from Philadelphia, the Quaker monthly meeting, which, although the OED does not record it, was in use in Quaker government from the 17th century (George Fox, Autobiography, R. M. Jones, ed. (Philadelphia, 1904), pp. 459-61).

²1724 New-England Courant 14 Sept. 2/1.

the fraternal terminology to the religious unit, under the influence of the more general religious sense, might have been an Americanism; we can not prove it so, however. Like those of the English congregationalists, the New England churches were governed by the synod as a legislative body, which adopted a platform summarizing the principles and doctrines of the churches, called also the discipline of the churches (the combination church discipline, which we find in the Boston News-Letter in 1712, though unrecognized by the OED in any of its citations, could hardly have been an Americanism; the combination is too obvious by the side of ecclesiastical discipline, holy discipline, etc., which are cited). A possible but not demonstrable Americanism is the phrase covenant relation (not in the OED), the church covenant, or formal agreement among members of a congregational church, having been an important feature of the church government of New England; because we cannot prove it was not also English, we can not definitely declare it American. The General Convention of Ministers of Massachusetts (Boston, 1725), on the contrary, was distinctly American in both title and historic importance.¹ (Note the typical colonial use of general in the title of an assembled representative body.)

Details of local church government (which we must remember were not too well recorded by the public newspapers, our source) produce little that is independent of 18th century England. Fasts and fast-days as religious observances had been brought from the old country. Disapproval of a church member was met by two alternatives, as in England: the church could censure, or it could excommunicate. A member moving from one parish to another was

¹Established 1720 and continued through the 18th century. Memorial History Boston (Boston, 1880), II, 223.

dismissed¹ with a Letter of Recommendation² to his new pastor. To administer the seals (Boston, 1723), that is, to administer the sacraments, baptism and the Lord's supper, is unrecognized by the OED, but was well established throughout 17th and 18th century Congregationalism in New England. Whether or not seal for sacrament was brought over with the colonists (it can be found as early as 1637,³ and was used in the platform drawn up by the Cambridge synod in 1648),⁴ its continued use is apparently a distinct Americanism, through our period at least until the end of the 18th century.⁵ The term evangelical treasury, which is not the church treasury but a special fund raised for 'pious Uses as Occasion shall require,'⁶ may be American, though only further evidence can prove it so, in the absence of any distinctive characteristic; the OED does not recognize the combination and the nearest sense of the adjective evangelical, 1b, 'Of or pertaining to, or in accordance with, the faith or precepts of the Gospel, or the Christian religion; pertaining to, or characteristic of, the Gospel

¹Illustrated in OED only in general sense of 'to give permission to go,' etc. (sense 2), which includes within its scope this specific sense. It is most doubtful that the specific sense was in any way peculiar to the American colonies.

²Included under the OED general definition of letter of recommendation (Letter 4b, 1494), though none of the citations is specifically synonymous with 'church letter.'

³1637 Essex Historical Collections I (Salem, 1859), 391. Cf. also a dispute in 1637 recorded in the Plymouth Church Records (Boston, 1920) I, 98-99, over the right of pastors and teachers to administer the seal of baptism.

⁴Platform of Church Discipline (Boston, 1772), pp. 30, 53, etc.

⁵Our latest observation of the usage, aside from re-printings of the church platform and confession of faith in the 19th century (which do not testify to contemporary use), is from the Plymouth Church Records for 1791 (I, 368-9). Further evidence will no doubt show continuation of the term in Congregational terminology well into the 19th century.

⁶1726 New-England Courant 19 Mar. 2/1.

dispensation,' is too general.

Two distinct Americanisms we find among the officers of the New England churches: Messenger, the representative sent by a congregational church to a synod, was so named probably because the congregations of the earlier colonies had a strong sense of the power of the local unit, more than in England, exaggerated by the same democratic development which was to make certain New England troops exasperatingly independent in their actions a century later, in the American revolution. The messengers, therefore, were no doubt not so much delegates to represent, that is to act for, the congregations which sent them, as bearers of the will of those congregations. The New England teacher (New London, 1721; Boston, 1724),¹ an officer in the church, was likewise a colonial development. According to the Cambridge Platform of Church Discipline, established at the synod in 1648, the pastor and the teacher were different in office, the one to "attend to exhortation, and therein to administer a word of wisdom," the other "to attend to doctrine, and therein to administer a word of knowledge."² For the less gifted or less trained of the congregation, we can readily see the importance of a "teacher" of doctrine, especially in a community where doctrinal affairs were of primary importance as they were in New England. The fact that the two offices often combined duties tended apparently toward confusing the distinction between them;³ in one of our citations the two are used synonymously, perhaps because one person was to perform both functions:

¹Earliest OED citation, 1854.

²Ed. cit., Chap. VI, p. 30.

³Distinction between offices, and confusion between them, briefly discussed by Anne Bush MacLear, Early New England Towns (New York, 1908), pp. 142-3.

....a Tax is laid in express Terms upon the Inhabitants of Dartmouth and Tiverton, for the support of a Presbyterian, whom they call an Orthodox Minister, which falls almost intirely upon the Quakers;....we cannot see why the Quakers should....be obliged to maintain a Teacher of a different Perswasion.¹

The titles of all other church officers recorded in our newspapers were parallel with those of corresponding English officers: deacon, elder, lay elder (1594..1827; 1722), minister, pastor, preacher, presbyter, ruling elder. For the episcopalian church, we have only three titles (from New York), church warden, rector, and vestry, all of which were English; and one derogatory designation of the rector, gown-man, also English, though rare.

Our citation for deacon in 1723 not only indicates one of the important duties of that official in Congregational New England, but gives hint of one of the most heated (and to us most entertaining) church controversies of the day:

No sooner was the Psalm set, than the bawling Party made such a hideous Noise, that the Minister forbid the Deacon reading any farther, upon which they carried on their Noise without reading....²

This particular incident was in south Brantrey (Braintree), but the dispute was wide-spread, and ultimately resulted in the expulsion of "deaconing" or "lining out" of psalms.³ Probably because it was wholly a colonial problem and did not cause a similar stir in the old country, the entire vocabulary of the controversy is unindicated in the OED. Psalm, psalm-book (1644..1816; 1723). psalm-tune, psalmody, and the verb to set a psalm, were of course English; but there was no dispute about the psalms themselves.

¹1724 New-England Courant 14 Sept. 2/1.

²1723 ibid., 19 Aug. 2/1.

³For an excellent discussion of the history and development of this dispute see Alice Morse Earle, The Sabbath in Puritan New England (New York, 1891), Chap. XV.

Briefly, the trouble arose when a considerable faction within the congregations of New England made up their minds that the old fashion of deaconing¹ psalms, with only a limited number of simple tunes sung line by line, was unbearable. They were stimulated by the publication of a new collection of tunes, in three parts, issued by the Reverend John Tufts, of Newbury, in the year 1714;² and by 1721, the year in which the New-England Courant was established (all our citations for the controversy are from that source), the movement was so far developed as to lead the new-style faction to sing through the deacon's reading, as cited above, to achieve continuous singing. The new singing was called regular singing, or singing by rule, in contrast with singing by rote (assisted by the deacon's reading of lines). Whether irregular singing meant the same as regular singing, rather than its opposite, we are uncertain; but since it was the singers in the new fashion who were necessarily the aggressors, and since the irregular singing in the citation below is accused of having disturbed the routine of worship, it would seem not likely to have meant the traditional singing by rote with the deacon's aid.

Whereas several Persons sitting together in a Pew, in a Church at the south Part of Boston, for some Time past by their irregular Singing, have considerably disturb'd that Part of Divine Service.³

The singers by rule organized their movement into societies for promoting regular singing, and met periodically to learn and practice the new three-part tunes, --prick'd tunes, as one writer called them (Boston, 1723), that is, recorded by notes on the staff, in formal musical record (the combination is not recorded

¹To deacon, as a verb, is not recorded this early; the first citation by Thornton is for 1831.

²Earle, op. cit., p. 207.

³1722 New-England Courant 9 Apr. 2/1.

in the OED; if one were to depend on the examples cited by the OED one would believe the adjective pricked in this sense to have been obsolete by the 18th century). These meetings were called both singing-lectures (not recorded in the OED), including not only the singing but a lecture or sermon on an appropriate topic, and singing-schools, an institution that was to become the source of much community pleasure by the end of the century.

In this controversy, colonial as it was, we may note several Americanisms: Six are not in OED record (regular singing, singing by rule, singing by rote, irregular singing, prick'd tune, and singing-lecture); and singing-school we can cite in American usage before the earliest record in the OED (1736; 1723). That the whole dispute was of immense interest to the towns concerned may be shown in the earnest efforts made by both factions:

On Thursday last a Lecture was held at Redding, by a Society of that Place for promoting regular Singing in the Worship of God. The Reverend Mr. Brown preach'd from Psal. 100.2. Come before his Presence with Singing. The Singing was performed in Three Parts by about Fifty Persons.... 'Tis said a Singing-Lecture will shortly be held at Newbury.¹

and on the other side:

....we have Advice, that the Singing-School in that Place /a part of Boston/ is broken up by Order of the Select Men, who in their Great Wisdom foreseeing the ill Consequences of such Romish Practices, thought fit to crush them in their Beginning.²

It was the subject of many a tract and essay by leading clergymen, until finally the conviction won its way, that singing by note was after all older in tradition than singing by rote.³ Even then the old practice of deaconing the psalms held its place in isolated

¹1722 New-England Courant 19 Mar. 2/2. Cotton Mather was another to preach at singing-lectures (1723 ibid., 3 June 2/1).

²1723 ibid., 1 Apr. 2/2.

³Earle, op. cit., p. 209.

communities into the 19th century.¹

The vocabulary of the church services is hardly more productive of colonial terms than that of church government. As in England, the day of worship was the Lord's day or the Sabbath. As in England, the ceremony of worship was the morning (or afternoon) service. The actual gathering for worship was called meeting or church, often (as in England) with a distinction intended between nonconformist and episcopalian services respectively, if the two terms were used together. Those who attended the services were hearers (1686..1838; 1723). The Holy Communion was the Sacrament; and we are hardly assured of any colonial claim to Sacrament Day, even though the combination is not cited in the OED, and Sacrament Sunday, the related combination, is cited no earlier than 1796. We are left then with only a small residue of Americanisms: We wonder about ordination sermon, which precedes the earliest attributive citation in the OED by 157 years (1879; 1722). Could it be possible that the initial effort of a candidate for the ministry was emphasized more in the colonies than in the old country? Otherwise we can see no logical reason for believing the combination to have been colonial in origin any more than that it was English in origin, only the accident of reading and recording having uncovered it in the colonies thus early. The election sermon is, however, demonstrably American, since in England the election of governmental officials was not the occasion of church activity and worship as it was in New England. The combination happens not to be mentioned in the OED, but our examples from 1704 and 1723 are not of significance except as supporting what may be readily proved as general New England usage

¹ Earle, op. cit., p. 216.

through both the 17th and the 18th centuries.¹ The lecture as a sermon preached at other than the Sunday services was in common English usage from the 16th century. The transfer of the term to the meeting itself, at which a sermon was delivered, may have been colonial (since it is not recognized by the OED), but there is no sure proof for assuming it so. Most probably American were those combinations with lecture (in this second sense) to indicate the frequency or time of meeting (weekly lecture, Thursday lecture), or the association of the sermon with other interests which had a religious significance (singing-lecture, mentioned above).

Summary of Significant Church Terms

I. AMERICANISMS

1. American in origin
 - Election sermon
 - General Convention of Ministers
 - Irregular singing
 - Prick'd tune
 - Regular singing
 - Singing-lecture
 - Thursday lecture
 - Town-congregation
 - Weekly lecture
2. Meaning changed or use extended
 - Messenger
 - Rote, singing by
 - Rule, singing by
 - Seal
 - Teacher
3. Late retentions
 - (None)

II. NOT DEMONSTRABLY AMERICAN

1. Earlier than OED
 - Episcopallian (the person)
 - Muggletonianism
 - Ordination sermon
 - Singing-school
2. Later than OED
 - Light of Nature

¹ Cf. for instance, 1644 Records of Governor and Company of Massachusetts Bay, II (Boston, 1853), 71.

3. Not in OED

Brotherhood (=church members)
Church (=ellipsis for Church of England)
Church discipline
Covenant relation
Evangelical treasury
Lecture (=meeting)
Light of Revelation
Monthly meeting (Quaker)
Sacrament Day
Water-baptist

FINANCIAL TERMS

The business of financing the trade of the American colonies afforded one of the most agitated problems the colonials had to face through two centuries, a problem which remained after the establishment of a 'federal' government at the end of the 18th century. As a result we may expect to find in those fields where the colonies made the most independent development a considerable number of new words; though we must remember that independence in one field does not speak for independence in other fields of financial terminology.

It was in providing a medium of exchange for trade that the colonies had most persistent trouble. When the first adventurers arrived, they brought little of the coined gold and silver they had used at home, and though Massachusetts did establish for a time an official mint for coinage (1652 to 1684, under John Hull as mint-master; closed by order of the Crown),¹ no other colony ever did so. As a result, 'the colonists were compelled to use both the Indian medium of exchange, wampum (or wampumpeag)² and measures of produce of various kinds,³ in order

¹Davis Rich Dewey, Financial History of the United States (New York and London, 1922), p. 21.

²The uses which we find recorded in newspapers for wampum and wampumpeag in 1721 and 1723 do not indicate that they were in the vocabulary then as a measure of money; both terms are used as distinctively Indian terms, indicating Indian treasure and ornament.

³Cf. tobacco-money, potato-money, sugar-money, corn-money, in the pamphlet supposed to have been written by Captain John Blackwell, 1691 (Tracts Relating to the Currency of the Massachusetts Bay, Andrew McFarland Davis, ed. (Boston and New York, 1902), p. 31).

to carry on business. As in England, gold and silver coined and uncoined were maintained the standard (bar gold, coined gold, and gold dust; and silver plate); and of course foreign coins were used as they could be obtained and retained (crown-piece, Lyon dollar,¹ piece of eight, and pistoll, for pistole, which were also in use in England at the time; and St. Thomas money, which was not, and therefore may be called an Americanism). The term proclamation money, which we find in the Weekly Mercury from Philadelphia, 1719, reveals a part of the struggle to maintain unfluctuating standards, Queen Anne having proclaimed in 1704 a table which was to set the values of foreign coins in the colonies in relation to the English system. Since the table affected only the colonies, the term proclamation money was naturally of colonial origin and largely of colonial use.²

The event in financial history which initiated not only one of the most useful and most disputed mediums of exchange, but also a rather extensive American vocabulary was the first issuing of bills of public credit by Massachusetts Bay in 1690. Bills of credit, as statements or orders based on the credit of an individual or corporation in a bank, were already in use in England³ and on the continent (called sometimes bank-bills⁴); and note was used in much the same way. As early as 1682, the scarcity of money for exchange had called forth in Massachusetts a proposal to establish a bank to issue for circulation bills of exchange or credit, secured by pledges of personal property and mortgages of

¹A Dutch coin, known in England, but especially current in New York, having been brought in by the Dutch settlers.

²Though the term must have come in soon after the proclamation in 1704, our earliest newspaper record is this of 1719; the earliest OED citation is even later, for 1735.

³Cf. OED Credit, 10b, 1655.

⁴So called in [John Woodbridge], "Severals Relating to the Fund," a pamphlet proposing a 'bank of money' for issuing 'bills of exchange,' 1682 (Davis, Tracts Relating to the Currency of Massachusetts Bay, p. 7).

real estate;¹ in 1686 the Massachusetts Council actually approved such a bank of issue upon property and land security, but for some reason not known, the project was abandoned after the paper and press had been bought and bills actually struck off.²

The autumn of 1690 brought up a situation quite unlike those which had been creating demand for paper currency before: Having sent an ambitious expedition against Quebec, anticipating plunder from the French town to pay for the expenses of the campaign, the General Court found itself faced with the defeat of the expedition and the necessity of paying off the disgruntled soldiers. There was no money in the treasury, and none to come before the taxes of another year. Unable to meet the issue in any other way, the General Court ordered on December 10th the printing of the first bills of credit ever authorized by a government, the bills to be printed by denominations expressed in current money, and to be received in all public payments (which would be taxes, chiefly or wholly).³ Although there was some discounting of values and much dispute about the use of paper as money, the bills proved to be so useful that as they were returned to the state they were reissued, even after Massachusetts became a province late in 1691,⁴ the form of the bills not being changed until the so-called province bills first issued in 1702.⁵ Paper currency became immediately popular, issues in New Hampshire,

¹Woodbridge/ op. cit., pp. 1-11.

²Andrew McFarland Davis, Currency and Banking in the Province of the Massachusetts-Bay, I (New York, 1901), 7.

³Ibid., I, 11.

⁴By way of orienting ourselves in the history of finance, it is well to remember that the Bank of England was established three years later than this, in 1694, and was not well on its feet until the first of the 18th century.

⁵Davis, Currency and Banking I, 19.

Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, and New Jersey all preceding 1711, and in other colonies following in rapid order: South Carolina 1712; Pennsylvania 1723; Maryland 1734; Delaware 1739; Virginia 1755; Georgia 1760.¹ The problem of stabilizing the colonial currency thus put into circulation was unsolved throughout the century.

A complication in the problem of paper currency we mention here because its coming to a head in 1714 was the occasion of a considerable influx of terms of finance in the newspapers which we are reading: the issuing of bills by private banks to supplement those issued by the government. As we have noted, an enterprise of this sort, on land security, was among the first proposals for paper money in the colonies; but no such bank of issue had actually gone into operation, and government issues instead had been established. In 1714, there being still some difficulties from lack of currency, a group of citizens in Massachusetts proposed to revive the idea suggested in the 1680's, and issue bills on the security of land pledged by mortgage. This particular scheme failed because of an opposing faction in the province, which succeeded in winning a provincial issue of bills to individuals as a loan on their land, with a mortgage as collateral security (hence the title public bank for the scheme, as opposed to private bank for that in which a private partnership was to act as the creditor).² Private issue of bills by merchants on silver security (actually secured only by personal integrity) was successfully used in Massachusetts in the years immediately following 1733, and a similar issue was made by a group of New Hampshire merchants in

¹Dewey, op. cit., pp. 23-4.

²Terms not recorded in our newspapers read, but cf. a series of controversial pamphlets in Davis, Tracts Relating to the Currency of the Massachusetts Bay, pp. 85 ff.

1734. In 1739 the familiar plan of the land bank came up again in Massachusetts, and won such hearty support of citizens generally, including a comfortable majority in the General Court, that parliamentary action was necessary to dissolve the enterprise. So much ill feeling was aroused in the subsequent financial turmoil that historians frequently mark the decades of the 40's and 50's as the real origin of the discontent among the colonies with control by a legislature not their own, in matters which they considered their own, the discontent which was to produce the popular "taxation without representation" war-cry.¹

To return to the vocabulary which developed around colonial and provincial paper currency: Bill of credit and note were quite naturally used to refer to the new bills issued by the government on tax or other security, as well as to those issued by private enterprises. Bill as the ellipsis of bill of credit or bill of exchange had been in English usage since the 16th century. Bill of public credit, of course, was of American origin, the situation for the name having arisen first here; the phrase happens not to be recorded at all in the OED.² Bank of credit, though not cited in the OED, was probably not of colonial origin; the system of crediting through the bank with deposits as security was well established before our example (1714), and a yet earlier example may be cited from what is probably an English pamphlet, though on

¹For an excellent summary and interpretation of the provincial land and silver banks, with their culmination in the great Land Bank scheme of Massachusetts, see Andrew McFarland Davis, Provincial Banks: Land and Silver (Cambridge, 1895), reprinted from Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts, III.

²The term seems to have originated almost immediately upon the appearance of the bills: cf. 1692 Acts and Resolves, Public and Private, of the Province of the Massachusetts Bay, I (Boston, 1869), 36.

a colonial problem (1688).¹ The various combinations with paper, which arose at intervals beginning with the earliest use of governmental paper bills, are, judging from citations gathered, all American in origin, though many of them were very soon taken up in England. Of those which we have found in our newspapers from 1704 to 1726 are: Paper money, earliest collected evidence being in a pamphlet supposed to be by Cotton Mather, defending the colonial bills in 1691;² that it was taken up at once in England is evidenced in its use by Pollexfen al 1697 and Berkely 1735 (to cite two early examples from the OED; Pollexfen's use might be questioned as a definite combination, but Berkeley's is evident, as is that of Adam Smith in the Wealth of Nations, 1776). Such a combination as Philadelphia paper money was of course purely colonial (and unrecorded in the OED). Paper currency, later used by Adam Smith, seems to have arisen first in the colonies, our example being from Pennsylvania for 1723, and the next earliest recorded, that by Benjamin Franklin in 1729, in his pamphlet A Modest Inquiry into the Nature and Necessity of a Paper-Currency.³ Paper bill, cited by the OED for 1670,⁴ we find to be not paper currency, but merely a bill (apparently a poster) made of paper. Referring to paper money, American Dictionary readers have found paper bill first in 1714;⁵ our newspaper example is from Pennsylv-

¹Davis, Tracts Relating to the Currency of the Massachusetts Bay, p. 40, the pamphlet being a 1714 reprint of 1688 edition from London.

²Ibid., p. 13.

³Colonial Currency Reprints, Andrew M. Davis, ed., II (Boston, 1911), 335-357.

⁴Paper II, 10a (W. Clarke, Nat. Hist. Nitre, p. 60). Verified in Latin edition, Naturalis Historia Nitri (Frankfort, 1675), p. 54.

⁵Davis, Tracts Relating to the Currency of the Massachusetts Bay, p. 121.

vania for 1723. Parchment money, with the same sense as paper money, we find in Boston, 1723 (New-England Courant 3 June 2/1); it is not recognized in the OED, and probably did not reach English usage at all. Province bill, in almost immediate use after the new form of bills was established by the province of Massachusetts Bay in 1702,¹ replacing the older 'colony bills,' is likewise not recognized in the OED, and probably was purely American.² We might mention also an apparently American usage recorded in our newspapers indicating the entrance of individual merchants into the field of current exchange, issuing what they called tickets (in this sense not recognized by the OED), of various denominations, to be redeemed by the merchants issuing them as pay for any merchandise they might have for sale. According to Davis, the earliest references to such tickets or shop notes (for the latter term we have no examples) began at about the time the first province bills were issued in 1702, and continued well into the century.³

The problems of supervising the currency of the colonies were apparently so like those in England that they aroused few new terms in the American vocabulary. For an issue of bills of credit the term impression was used, already known for books, pamphlets, and other printed matter which involved a number of copies of one issue; this specific use of the word is not illustrated in the OED, but there is no particular reason for believing it of colonial origin. Besides the current verb utter, already in

¹Our newspaper examples both from Boston, 1714, 1722.

²The use of land-security, to which we have referred in the schemes for private banks of issue, we may assume not new in idea or term; land-security for money borrowed may be found cited in Andrew Yarranton, England's Improvements by Sea and Land (London, 1677), p. 17; and for bills or notes issued, in Sir Henry Pollexfen, Discourse of Trade (London, 1697), p. 74.

³Davis, Provincial Banks, p. 5.

use for the action of putting money into circulation, there arose for some reason what appears to be a purely American use of emit (with the corresponding noun emission, which our newspapers happen not to have illustrated, but which can be found in common usage throughout the period).¹ Emit had been known since at least the 17th century in the sense of emitting edicts or proclamations (OED 6), but is cited by the OED only in an American use for the sense of emitting paper money, and that toward the end of the 18th century.² Head and head line, for the description of paper bills, being unrecorded in the OED, are probably the coinage of the colonies, where much attention was necessary to prevent the counterfeiting of bills of credit. (As a matter of fact, all the other terms related to thus falsifying bills were English: coiner, counterfeit, v., counterfeiter, forge, v., forgery.) The use of base to describe counterfeited paper money is an extension of the original English use, which was restricted to coins debased with alloy or otherwise counterfeit; the extended use may have been American, in the absence of OED evidence to the contrary, but is not demonstrably so.

Terminology of financial enterprise as revealed by our newspaper sources shows occasionally the effect of colonial conditions, but otherwise remains rather thoroughly English. Bond,

¹Cf. for example 1714, "A Projection for Erecting a Bank of Credit in Boston....," in Davis, Tracts Relating to the Currency of the Massachusetts Bay, p. 71.

²An impression might be gained from the OED citation from Edward Dicey, Six Months in the Federal States (London and Cambridge, 1863), I, 124, that Dicey, an Englishman, made use of the verb in the mid-19th century. On the contrary, he was not even citing an American usage of that day: the citation from Dicey is in turn quoted from the United States Constitution, and should have been credited as an American usage of 1789. It is still used by American students of finance, but we have found no evidence for believing it to be known in English speech.

dividend, mortgage, stock, subscription, are all English, as is claim, that is, the right to demand a part of a given property. The combination public stock happens not to be recognized by the OED, and may possibly be American, though there is no assurance of that assumption. Land company, however, we believe to be an authentic Americanism, the need for such a commercial enterprise having arisen in this new country where the distribution of land was of primary interest, and of interest to all alike, whether they were of the old landed class or not. The OED record of land company is by means of an American citation, 131 years later than ours from Philadelphia in 1723, the meaning apparently the same as ours, only the land involved being different.¹ Likewise the term society to indicate a company of traders or other commercial agents, we can illustrate from our newspapers over a hundred years earlier than the OED evidence (1890; 1723), though, the OED citation being English, we cannot certainly claim the term as of American origin.² We do consider it of importance, none the less, in explaining the often discussed society hill in Philadelphia, which we find in 1723 with the companion term, society land. Both are obviously explained as the hill and the land belonging to the society organized for developing land in the neighborhood of Philadelphia. In our opinion an origin such as this is quite as likely as that which depends on the social rank of those who

¹The popularity of land- in American coinages may be seen at a glance when one leafs through the material turned in by readers for the American Dictionary: land-buyer, land certificate, land claim, land district, land-exploring expedition, land fund, land grabber, land law, land monopolist, land monopolizer, land office, land office business, land officer, land scrip, land shark, etc.

²Especially true, since the word was in established English use through the 16th and 17th centuries in the sense of the combining of business partners (the fact of combination, rather our sense of the combination as a business entity). OED II, 7.

settled on the hill at a later time. Neither combination (society hill, society land) is recognized by the OED, and there is no reason for doubting that both are pure Americanisms.

The problems of bankruptcy, and the meeting of them, our last phase of the financial vocabulary of the colonies in our period, reveal no independent developments. Indeed our very evidence is scanty, though our newspapers run through the years when the great South Sea bubble burst. Bankrupt as the adjective and as the noun were both English; as was the commission of bankrupt issued against the unfortunate business man whose enterprise had failed. Commissioner of bankrupt, the official appointed to administer the estate of a bankrupt, happens not to be recorded in the OED until past the middle of the century, unmodified commissioner in the same sense a year later (1766; 1714, and 1767; 1714); but it is doubtful that the absence of OED record in this instance indicates a real lack of usage, and even more doubtful that our evidence indicates an American origin of the term.

Summary of Significant Financial Terms

I. AMERICANISMS

1. American in origin

- Bill of public credit
- Land company
- Paper currency (now also English)
- Paper money (" ")
- Parchment money
- Philadelphia paper money
- Proclamation money
- Province bill
- St. Thomas money
- Society hill
- Society land
- Wampum
- Wampumpeag

2. Meaning changed or use extended

- Emit, v.
- Head
- Head line
- Paper bill
- Ticket

3. Late retentions
(None)

II. NOT DEMONSTRABLY AMERICAN

1. Earlier than OED
Commissioner (=commissioner of bankrupt)
Commissioner of bankrupt
Society (of traders)

2. Later than OED
(None)

3. Not in OED
Bank of credit
Base money (=bad paper money)
Impression
Public stock

BUILDINGS AND HOUSES

The colonial vocabulary of buildings and houses furnishes an interesting example of the fact that Americanisms arose chiefly to meet situations which were peculiar to the new country. Since those situations were few, then of course the vocabulary was overwhelmingly English; but the Americanisms which we do find we can explain in almost every instance by colonial conditions.

Among buildings for industrial or other public purposes, we find a long list of English terms: alms-house, bolting-house, brew-house, church, coffee-house, custom house, dye-house (1697.. 1876; 1712), hospital, house (a tavern, inn), meeting-house (referring only to dissenting and to Quaker places of worship, as in English usage), pest-house, post-office,¹ printing-house, public house (OED 2a), slaughter-house, still-house, storehouse, sugar house, town-house, warehouse, watch-house, and work-house. Smoke-house (a room in a tannery where hides are unhaired, OED 2) we find earlier than the OED citations (1797; 1722); there is no reason for believing it to have been American. Probably American, however, were city hall, garrison-house, and powder house. City hall offers rather sure evidence as to its Americanism. As we have remarked above (Governmental Terms), town-house was at our period in English use generally; it has been replaced largely by town-hall (as in Berwick, Chester, Coventry, Dorchester, Dover,

¹The attributive combination, post-office window, although named by the OED, is given no dated citation; we can date it with our example for 1708.

Huntingdon, Ipswich, Oxford), or by the older guildhall (as in Bath, Bristol, Exeter, Lincoln, London, Plymouth, Stirling,¹ Southampton, Winchester, York).² City hall, on the contrary, is not recognized by the OED, and has eluded all of our searches through records of English cities and towns, including those of Coventry, in which Samuel Sewall records that he was shown the city hall in 1689.³ That Coventry has never been a city in fact (and not to our observation in title), and that we have not been able to find in any English source the term city hall lead us to wonder whether Sewall might not have applied to the English building a term which he had carried over from the colonies. It is true that the only city in the colonies at that time was New York (incorporated in 1665, chartered formally in 1686), but it is also true that it was apparently New York which called its municipal building the City Hall, the examples gathered by the readers for the American Dictionary being exclusively from that city until the 19th century.⁴ The status of New York as a city in distinction from the New England (and other) towns might very possibly have brought into existence the term as first a New Yorkism and finally, a general Americanism. Garrison-house and powder house are examples of terms developed under the special exigencies of colonial life. The former the OED cites for 1677, with no note as to its American-

¹The guildhall and the town house in Stirling are two separate buildings.

²Guildhall rightly considered did not 'replace' town-house; its history is as old as that of the latter. Some cities have apparently maintained guildhall consistently from their days of guild control, having never used either town-house or town-hall.

³Samuel Sewall, Diary, I, 305, in Massachusetts Historical Society Collections, series 5, V (1878).

⁴New York city hall, 1720 (our citation), 1789, 1807-8, 1851, 1880, 1889; other examples, 1689 (S. Sewall), 1835 (Southern Literary Messenger), and 1849 (Indiana).

ism, but the citation itself is American (W. Hubbard's Narrative). Readers for the American Dictionary have added examples for 1676 and 1697 in the 17th century, 1857 for the 19th century, thus filling in around our examples for 1704 and 1722, and indicating a continuous activity in American speech as long as the country had to face the problems of defending a frontier. Powder house, as a place to store gunpowder, was important to the colonists and later frontiersmen for the same reason as was garrison-house. The fact that the one citation given by the OED is from the English Annual Register (1774) should not mislead us, for we find upon investigation that the Register is in this instance reprinting a report from Boston, New England, and therefore testifies only to a colonial usage. Our example for 1723 other readers for the American Dictionary have preceded with two, 1720 and 1721; and evidence for American usage of the term extends through the 18th century into the 19th, the latest for 1848.

Houses for residence, and other buildings about a private establishment developed also a few notable Americanisms. English were barn (1697..1820; 1704, 1708),¹ coach-house (1679..1820; 1725), dwelling-house, granary (sp. grainery), hen-coop (our example nautical), hen-house, leanto, mansion-house,² necessary house, outhouse, stable, tenement, and wash house. Not in the OED, but not demonstrably American is coach-house stable. American are

¹There is no distinguishing in our examples whether or not the barns were used as stables as well as storehouses for crops (pointed out by H. L. Mencken as an American development in meaning, American Language (ed. 2: New York, 1921), p. 62).

²Marked by the OED in sense a (any dwelling-house) as obsolete, and in sense b (residence of a landed proprietor, hence a large house of good appearance) as now only United States. Since it is difficult to determine which meaning is indicated in our examples, it is with some relief that we note that both senses were still current in England in the first quarter of the 18th century.

double house, double dwelling-house, plantation-house, and wigwam. Neither double house (1723, 1725) nor double dwelling-house (1708, 1714) is recognized by the OED; but the former is included by Thornton in his American Glossary, with citations for 1768 and 1773. We believe ourselves safe in assuming the two terms synonymous, and the same in meaning as the citations given by Thornton. We question Thornton's definition, however ('a house with two windows on either side of the front door'), except as the type of architecture which he describes accompanied the real reason for naming the house double: the fact that it was large enough and perhaps planned in structure, to accommodate two establishments if the owner so desired, or one large establishment, if he did not. Our examples for 1723 and 1725 support such an interpretation of double house; a later citation collected for the American Dictionary assures us quite: 'To be Sold, A well built brick double House,....It is at present in two commodious Tenements, but may be one large & handsom Seat. Any Persons dispos'd to purchase the whole or a part of it,....'¹ In any case, the terms are an indication of the development of a distinctly colonial type of architecture, sufficiently different from the English to merit a new name. Plantation-house, a combination of the popular colonial plantation, the OED cites from Defoe's Colonel Jack (1722); the term is not therefore English, however, for Defoe was attempting to give an accurate setting in Virginia, and may very probably under such circumstances have used a term not in English speech except as borrowed from the colonies. Our proof for believing this to be true, aside from our own citation from Philadelphia in the very year Colonel Jack came out, is the fact that readers for the American Dictionary have found plantation-house was still in

¹1726 Boston News-Letter 16 June 2/2.

use in America in the 19th century, the latest example being for 1885; whereas except for Defoe's Colonel Jack, we have not seen the term in English usage. Wigwam, of course, is one of the most commonly recognized Americanisms, from the most commonly recognized source of American speech, the Indian. OED citations both precede and follow our examples.

The vocabulary of rooms, parts of rooms, and other semi-architectural terms related to buildings and houses includes only two probable Americanisms, those two an echo of colonial conditions. English, of course, were cellar, chamber (context proves use to be the older, English sense), garret, kitchen, loft, story; chamber window (1613..1878; 1722), grate (OED 1), groundsill (sp. groundcil), pew, sash window, scuttle,¹ trap-door, underpinning,² window glass; belfry (1674..1849; 1704), flanker (part of a fort), porch (of a church, OED 1: 1663..1840; 1721); and council-chamber. Earlier than OED evidence but not demonstrably American are fire-room (1805; 1708) and rigging-loft (1821; 1726); not recognized in the OED at all but probably English, block-work (foundation of blocks, 1723) and pulpit floor (1725). We have been unable to determine just what was the common-hall at Harvard College in 1722;³ it may have been the room for common gatherings (later called the chapel), or perhaps the commons or

¹Although scuttle in this sense (OED² 2) had become American exclusively by the 19th century, it was at this time still in English use.

²According to OED evidence, parallel with English 16th to 19th centuries inclusive. It is like adze (see above, under Tools), however, in having been called archaic or obsolete by J. O. Halliwell in his Dictionary of Archaic and Provincial Words (ed. 2: London, 1850), s.v. Being safely more than a century earlier than Halliwell, we need not enter into the dispute which his classification of the word brings up.

³The Solemnity [a public confession of faith] was attended in the Common-Hall at Harvard College, by a considerable part of the Church in this Town,.... 1722 New-England Courant 2 Apr. 2/2.

dining hall.¹ Neither of these senses is included in the OED, unless under the broad statement in OED 2, 'In wider sense: see Hall,' for which the latest citation is for 1695. In absence of proof, however, we cannot claim the differing sense an Americanism. Low room (a room built in a residence between the cellar and the chamber), not included in the OED, we believe to have been probably American, basing our belief on the emphasis upon protection from the weather, which must have been necessary in colonial architecture. The fire-room, with its dependence upon artificial heat, had been known in England; the low room, into the name of which excavation or embankment of earth for warmth must have entered, may very logically be considered a colonial invention. Similarly the women's gallery, unrecognized by the OED, was probably American, since among the problems of constructing necessary buildings in the colonies, the place for women in the churches must have been a prominent consideration, -- hence a gallery for their particular seating. The great importance of proper seating at church is met on every hand in colonial records.

Summary of Significant Terms of Buildings and Houses

I. AMERICANISMS

1. American in origin

- City hall
- Double dwelling-house
- Double house
- Garrison-house
- Low room
- Plantation-house
- Powder house
- Wigwam
- Women's gallery

2. Developed or changed in meaning (None)

¹Cf. 1836 Harvardiana, II, 251. 'Common-hall had just been safely delivered of the last gormandizing straggler.'

3. Late retentions
(None)

II. NOT DEMONSTRABLY AMERICAN

1. Earlier than OED
Fire-room
Rigging-loft
Smoke-house (in tannery)

2. Later than OED
Common-hall

3. Not in OED
Block-work
Coach-house stable
Pulpit floor

